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Top Secret

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DAILY CABLE

Thursday 22 December 1977

CG NIDC 77/296C

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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State Dept. review completed

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National Intelligence Daily Cable for Thursday, 22 December 1977

The NID Cable is for the purpose of informing senior US officials.

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PORTUGAL: Elections Loom Nearer

25X1 [] //Talks between Portugal's Socialists and Center Democrats have stalled, and the prospect of an early election looms larger. President Eanes will reportedly decide tomorrow, after the political parties have presented their final positions, whether to name a prime minister or to call for an election. Eanes has told the parties that there will be an early election if they do not reach an understanding that assures majority support for the government in the legislature. He has ruled out a minority coalition of Social Democrats and Center Democrats, a Socialist government relying on Communist support, and a nonpartisan government of technical experts.//

25X1 [] //In order to reach the necessary agreement, either the Socialists will have to indicate a willingness to share power with one or both of the democratic opposition parties, or the latter will have to give the Socialists support without receiving anything substantial in return. Events of the last two months indicate that none of the parties is likely to give enough ground to produce a mutually satisfactory solution.//

25X1 [] //Last weekend the Socialists effectively aborted a tentative agreement to govern with the Center Democrats, the most conservative of Portugal's major parties, by introducing new demands. Their change of position may have been triggered partly by a fear that an arrangement with the Center Democrats would alienate the Socialists' restless left wing and open the party to a Communist attack on its leftist credentials.//

25X1 [] //The Center Democrats would find it impossible to sell an accommodation with the Socialists to their rank and file without receiving major concessions in return. Their leaders, citing the national interest above narrow party concerns and feeling pressure from backers in business and industry, had

offered to join the Socialists in implementing stringent economic policies with or without the Social Democrats, their rivals for Portugal's conservative voters. The Socialists' last-minute pullout leaves the Center Democrats emptyhanded and embarrassed.//

25X1 [] //Even when the possibility of a Socialist - Center Democratic arrangement was hanging over them, the Social Democrats did not budge from their position that a direct role in government was their price for cooperation. If the Socialists do not yield, the Social Democrats are apparently content to remain in opposition until an election is held. Some observers believe the Social Democrats would gain and the Socialists lose if an election were held today.//

25X1 [] //It is not clear whether Eanes would prefer to see the results of a new election before taking a stronger hand in bringing the parties to heel. []

25X1 [] //Relief in the form of a major disbursement from the \$750-million multilateral aid package has been held up as lenders wait for Portugal to work out an economic stabilization package acceptable to the International Monetary Fund. Negotiations with the Fund cannot be concluded until a new government is established and the 1978 budget passed.//

25X1 [] //An election in the near future could bring about some changes in the parliamentary balance even if it turns out that voters' preferences have not changed significantly since the 1976 election. If, for instance, the Center Democrats accept a Social Democratic invitation to form an electoral alliance in some districts, the two parties could increase their legislative representation without an increase in their combined share of the total vote over what it was in 1976. This could lead to a majority for the right in the national assembly, throwing the Socialists into opposition. []

COLOMBIA: Military Disturbed

25X1 [] The leaders of Colombia's military services are nearing the point where they may be willing to restore order unilaterally unless President Lopez takes immediate action against the increasing number of kidnappings and other crimes in the country. Military leaders presented Lopez with a six-point declaration on Monday that called for the government to take immediate action, regardless of how forceful it had to be, to guarantee the rights of citizens.

25X1 [] The declaration, which is the most serious challenge Lopez has faced from the armed forces, implied that if the government proves unwilling or incapable of preserving peace, the armed forces will. Shortly after the meeting between Lopez and the high command, soldiers armed with machineguns began patrolling the streets of Bogota.

25X1 [] The forceful action by the military leadership is a result of several developments. The military is upset over recent retirements of several senior officers on Lopez' orders. More important, businessmen--who have been targets of the kidnappings--and other concerned civilian groups have begun to apply pressure on the armed forces to restore order to the nation. A total of 59 people have been kidnapped this year; a new spate of kidnappings occurred last weekend.

25X1 [] Lopez may believe the armed forces have overstepped politically acceptable bounds by their action. The US Embassy in Bogota believes it is conceivable that Lopez will react impulsively to the military's declaration and threaten to resign or actually hand over power to the military. Lopez has gone into seclusion, reportedly to map out plans for attacking the problem; this is a tactic he frequently uses when under pressure. It could mean that he is more likely to compromise with the military than to capitulate to it.

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USSR: Neutron Bomb Campaign

25X1 [] Recent Soviet statements against the "neutron bomb" appear designed to prevent US deployment of the weapon in Western Europe. The Soviets are also trying to play up divisiveness within NATO on the subject and to divert attention from the human rights issue at the Belgrade review conference on European security and cooperation. If nothing else, the Soviets are at least trying to shift Western public attention away from current Soviet measures such as deployment of the SS-20 IRBM and from the Soviet military threat in Europe generally.

25X1 [] The campaign is being conducted at nearly the same high intensity as the Soviets' first campaign against the neutron weapon last summer. The most notable aspect of the current effort has been the strongly worded approaches made by Soviet leaders to top West European political figures.

25X1 [] These diplomatic initiatives appear designed to drive a wedge between the US and its NATO allies. At the same time, Soviet public comments are obviously playing upon adverse reaction to the weapon in Western Europe. The Soviets may believe that even if they are unable to influence the US decision on production of the weapon, they can at least agitate to stop its deployment in Western Europe.

25X1 [] Aside from propaganda, Georgiy Arbatov, one of Moscow's top US-watchers, told US Ambassador Toon earlier this year that there is sincere concern in responsible Soviet circles that the weapon could lower the nuclear threshold in Europe. The Soviets may believe that any lowering of the nuclear threshold would reduce the political advantages they hope to derive from their superiority in tanks and infantry in Europe.

25X1 [] The Soviet commentary suggests that Moscow is unwilling to discuss the neutron weapon at the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks, as this could require a Soviet trade-off. Soviet MBFR representative Tarasov recently criticized those in the West who thought they might use cruise missiles and "neutron bombs" as trump cards in the MBFR negotiations. Soviet media statements also appear designed to head off any West German effort to add this weapon to the MBFR agenda. []

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USSR: Foreign Ministry Changes

[] The USSR is about to name two new first deputies to Foreign Minister Gromyko in order to fill the vacancy left by Vasilii Kuznetsov's recent appointment as First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The two, Georgiy Korniyenko and Viktor Maltsev, are to serve as co-equals []

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[] Korniyenko has headed the Ministry's USA Department for more than a decade and is experienced in disarmament negotiations. Maltsev, a protege of President and party chief Brezhnev, is currently Ambassador to India.

[] Although Korniyenko would probably give up the USA Department, his appointment underscores the importance attached by the Soviets to relations with the US. Korniyenko, unlike Kuznetsov, holds no national party rank and is unlikely to attain any until the next party congress, due around 1981.

[] Maltsev is not a career diplomat; he entered the foreign service after a career in railroad administration and party work in Irkutsk. As Ambassador to Finland in the early 1970s, he headed the Soviet delegation to the preparatory meeting for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and was involved in preparations for the SALT talks in Helsinki.

[] //Korniyenko's promotion ends speculation that Deputy Minister Igor Zemskov would become a first deputy. Earlier this year, Zemskov had been particularly critical of the US for allegedly trying to undermine Soviet authority at home through subversive activities and manipulation of the human

rights issue.// Korniyenkos views toward the US appear to be far more moderate. The new appointments may also affect Ambassador to the US Dobrynin's reported plans to return to Moscow as a Deputy Foreign Minister.

POLAND: Wyszynski Statement

[redacted] Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski has released to the Polish clergy the text of an address he made in Rome last month defending the recent warming of Church-state relations in Poland as necessary to preserve domestic stability. The release of the text is intended to answer questions raised by the faithful, especially lay intellectuals, in the wake of Wyszynski's meeting with party leader Gierek in late October and the obvious support given Gierek by Pope Paul when the two met on 1 December.

[redacted] In the address, Wyszynski said that the Church has no love for the secular authorities in Poland but that at times the Church must use its moral authority to calm passions that otherwise could rage unchecked and damage the nation. He said that "small revolutions," such as the disturbances that erupted throughout Poland in June 1976 over regime attempts to raise food prices, must be avoided.

[redacted] Wyszynski is aware that a breakdown of internal order would raise the danger of Soviet military intervention. The speech is perhaps the clearest, most direct public statement of the Church's role as preserver of the peace in Poland. It represents a further step in the Church's efforts to be recognized as a legitimate participant in governing the country.

[redacted] In a second part of the address, Wyszynski presented an "alternative vision" of Poland, the vision of a country that had become the breadbasket of Europe. He criticized the forced pace of industrialization, saying that this has cost more than it has been worth and has disrupted and corrupted the society. The future, he said, should be dedicated to exploiting Poland's natural advantages in agriculture.

[redacted] The Cardinal's "alternative vision" could indirectly affect current discussions over Poland's economic problems.

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[REDACTED]

Party leaders will not give up their ideological commitment to industrialization, but the pace at which it is being pursued has been the subject of debate.

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[REDACTED] Those Poles who have criticized the country's headlong and often wasteful rush to industrialization may now be able to argue that "public sentiment" demands a different course. The long lines in front of meat stores and shortages of food and consumer goods are powerful arguments that a change of tack is needed. [REDACTED]

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AUSTRALIA-USSR: Port Call

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[REDACTED] //A Soviet request for a port call in Australia by a naval oceanographic research vessel and an accompanying submarine has sparked a sharp debate within the basically anti-Soviet government of Prime Minister Fraser. The government has been wrestling with the issue since the Soviet diplomatic note was delivered a month ago. Foreign affairs officials are inclined to recommend permission, but defense officials are strongly opposed.//

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[REDACTED] //The submarine would be the first Soviet warship to visit Australia. Two Soviet naval research ships made port calls during the Labor Party administration between 1972 and 1975.//

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[REDACTED] //Defense officials are worried that a precedent would be set by allowing the submarine into an Australian port. They also believe that any hospitality shown to the Soviets would undercut Australia's opposition to New Zealand's current discussions with the Soviets about access to onshore fishing facilities in New Zealand. The defense department and the military services may also believe that permission for a port call would weaken Australian objections to Soviet maritime activities in the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean.//

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[REDACTED] //The Australian Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, takes the view that it would be difficult from a legal standpoint to deny the Soviet request unless there are persuasive security arguments against it. Canberra so far has stalled

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by asking Moscow for details about the ships and the purpose of their proposed visit. Soviet failure to respond has given the Australians some hope that Moscow will not press the matter.//

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[redacted]//The matter will probably required a decision by the Australian cabinet. This will not happen soon, as many senior officials are away from the capital on extended summer holidays. [redacted]

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CHILE: Referendum on UN Action

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[redacted] *Chilean President Pinochet said in a broadcast address last night that he would submit to a national referendum the recent UN General Assembly resolution condemning his military government for human rights violations.*

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[redacted] The announcement of such an extraordinary step, following passage of the UN resolution last Friday, is the latest sign of Pinochet's irritation over continued foreign criticism of Chile's human rights performance. The Chileans have also made strong diplomatic representations to the US over its joint sponsorship of the resolution.

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[redacted] Pinochet believes his critics have ignored the substantial progress Chile has achieved in releasing some 4,000 political prisoners--dramatically reducing the number of reports of illegal detentions, torture, and disappearances--and in dissolving the country's dreaded secret police.

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[redacted] Because the government retains the support of a majority of the population, it most likely will win such a referendum. The date of the voting, the first to be held in Chile since the overthrow of the Allende government in September 1973, is expected to be announced shortly. [redacted]

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BRIEFS

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USSR-Angola

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[] A Soviet delegation headed by First Deputy Defense Minister Sokolov arrived in Angola yesterday. The visit follows recent higher level contacts between Moscow and Luanda. President Neto met with President Brezhnev in Moscow last month, and Politburo member Kirilenko attended the recent congress of Angola's ruling party.

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[] The Angolans are also hosting a senior Cuban delegation that reportedly is to work out details of a recent agreement providing for a major increase in Cuban economic aid to Angola.

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East Germany

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[] //East Germany is rumored to be planning to close Checkpoint Charlie between East and West Berlin from midnight to 6 a.m. daily beginning on 1 January and to make a change in the use of identity cards carried by diplomats. The rumors are unconfirmed, and it is not clear whether the East Germans would close the checkpoint to Allied diplomats and military personnel.//

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25X1 [redacted] //The rumor about the diplomatic identity cards,
25X1 [redacted] has the East Germans elimi-
nating the use of the cards when diplomats transit between the
two halves of the city, and instead requiring diplomatic pass-
ports with visas valid for East Germany. For the Western Allies,
this could result in another test of the "flash" procedure,
whereby Allied diplomatic passport holders do not hand over
their passports to East German guards.//

25X1 [redacted] //Either step would be another attempt to probe
the "gray" areas of the Berlin question and to remove some of
the remaining signs of East Berlin's separate status--a status
that irritates the East Germans. The rumors could be a trial
balloon to test Allied resolve. The East Germans may have
chosen the holiday season because it is more difficult then
for the Allies to work out a coordinated response. [redacted]

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Australia

25X1 [redacted] //William Hayden has been elected head of Austra-
lia's Labor Party, which suffered a crushing defeat in the Aus-
tralian parliamentary election on 10 December. Hayden, who is
44, served previously in the government as treasurer when for-
mer party leader Gough Whitlam was Prime Minister. He won the
top party post by eight votes over Lionel Bowen, who also held
a cabinet-level position in the Whitlam government. The party's
rapid decision on a replacement for Whitlam indicates a deter-
mination to rebuild organizationally following the electoral
debacle. Hayden has been the party's principal spokesman on,
and architect of, economic policies. [redacted]

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